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EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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/Information on artificial kin relations (bridegroom-wedding sponsors, godchild-godparent) between the Sarakatsani and Greek villages of the Zagori region will be found in category 608./

VLACHS

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Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs⁴ or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.⁵ Inter-marriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare. 101
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In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Høeg.⁶ In the opening chapters of this work Høeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from pre-classical times.⁷ This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939-45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach 114
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⁴ In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

⁵ Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. I, Part A, p. vii.

⁶ Carsten Høeg, *Les Sarakatsani. Étude linguistique*, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926. [13]

⁷ P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1903. Π. 'Αραβαντινός, *Μορφωτικά περί Κουτσόβλαχων*, Athens, 1903, p. 38.

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It is believed by the Sarakatsani that the interests of unrelated families are opposed and, indeed, mutually destructive. The local gathering of families which in summer happen to graze the pastures and enjoy citizenship rights of the same village, has little cohesion as a group except when on a rare occasion, such as a village festival, it breaks into brief and violent opposition to the villagers; and it has no organization beyond the ephemeral political combinations which appear at the time of local village elections. The idea of the total community is, of course, important; it represents a way of life in opposition to the ways of peasants, merchants, and bureaucrats. But the community, too, lacks any structure of authority or effective organization; and, in part, for the same reasons, that is to say the solidarity, exclusiveness, and mutual opposition of the families which form it.

While it is true that the total community (or the local gathering of families as a segment of it) is not an organized social group, it nevertheless defines a social space within which values are shared and the conduct of men and women is evaluated by other Sarakatsani. These values concern, especially, right ways of acting in family and kinship roles and the sex-linked moral characteristics which a man or woman ought to exhibit when he, or she, stands forward as the protagonist of the family and the guardian of its honour. Such evaluations imply a hierarchy of prestige. And it is precisely through mutual competition in terms of strength, wealth, and a reputation for honour, that the opposed families, and groups of related families, are associated with one another in a coherent and regular manner.

To these general features of the community it is necessary to add a brief consideration of particular geographical and historical factors which help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in the Zagori. Geographically Zagori is the western flank of the Pindus range immediately north of the approaches to the Metsovo pass, which forms its southern boundary; the mountain Mitsikeli is its western limit, and the sweep of the river Aóös contains it from the east and the north. The ridges of the Pindus, which effectively separate the eastern and western coastal plains of continental Greece, run in a north-west to south-east direction. The vast pressures which created these folds came from the east so that the escarpments present extremely abrupt

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winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient stabling to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in defending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty-six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

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OF SHEEP AND SHEPHERDS

233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry
ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
[232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a
ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
[138] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night,
in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves,
these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani,
including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks,
come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is
competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws
off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of
sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more
general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each
milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms
of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water
(παμπάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great
σέβρα for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to
translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
[754] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the
[789] part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy
different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on
the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neu-
tralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as
more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again
carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as
their practical function of identifying the flock they express the
joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its
pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
[64P] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has
become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile
and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricul-
tural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES 89

suggests the inadequacy of their kindreds. Six of the forty-two households at Neochori find themselves in this position.

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The requirements of a particular system of sheep management, then, often result in the association of two or more elementary or extended families in a 'company'. However, to explain the size and constitution of a particular 'company' it may be necessary to consider other factors as well. One of these is the difficulty of finding winter grazing. Where a tselingas owns or controls, by whatever means, grazing land in excess of the requirements of his own family, he almost inevitably leads a 'company' of kinsmen whose number is determined simply by the size of their flocks and the carrying capacity of his land.

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Another factor is security. One of the larger 'stanis' in Therprotia represents the interests of eighty persons with two thousand head of sheep and goats. They occupy a continuous tract of grazing land but although the different families are now individually entitled to their occupancy they still prefer to manage their affairs together in what represents, in fact, a confederation of three 'companies'. The stani had originally arrived in the area in the winter of 1944-5 after the Muslim landowners had fled to Albania, an exodus which left considerable areas of grassland untenanted. The Christian villagers of the district who claimed the abandoned lands strongly resented this immigration of shepherds while the final distribution of the land was still in doubt. Yet they were impressed by the strength and armament of the group and were not displeased, at a time when food was short, to barter the grazing land for quantities of cheese in the first winter and olive oil in the second. However, difficulties soon arose between the two groups. After the Sarakatsani had refused to sell a proportion of their own lambs to replace the village flocks which had been destroyed or stolen in the war, they were peremptorily ordered, in January 1946 at the height of the lambing, to leave the village boundaries; an ultimatum which the villagers must have known they would refuse. Shortly afterwards a desperate attempt to burn down the Sarakatsani huts was also unsuccessful. In the six years which followed these incidents, 1947-53, the Muslim lands were administered by the Ministry of Finance and the Sarakatsani continued to graze them in relative peace. But in 1954 the land used by the stani became village common land and without village citizenship the

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THE EXTENDED FAMILY

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648 Sarakatsani no longer had any rights to grazing which the village council did not choose to recognize. They were warned not to return in the autumn.

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648 The stani commissioned two patrons, who are influential lawyers in Jannina, to present their case to the Governor-General of the Epirus. Their plea was simply that their clients had nowhere to go; that they were simple men but easily tempted to violence in a crisis. In October the Nomarch (or Prefect) of Thesprotia was ordered to arrange for the compulsory admission of the shepherds to the same winter grazing. But the Nomarch (it was alleged) had received gifts from the villagers and did not wish to comply. He replied that the size of the villagers' own flocks made the administration of the order very difficult. Delay in correspondence and the endless discussion of practical difficulties are the time-honoured methods by which a junior officer in the hierarchy may evade the instruction of a senior official without becoming guilty of direct disobedience. But by late October the sheep were already on the road. The tselingas now appealed to his cheese merchant who suggested a present of fifty pounds to be passed by himself to his friend the Nomarch's Chief of Staff. It is impossible to say how this money was used, or if indeed it ever left the pocket of the merchant. But early in November, when the sheep had almost reached the village, an order was sent by the Nomarch to the President of the village that he must again receive the sheep of the Sarakatsani into the pastures.

It seems very probable that the relative success of this stani in facing these threats owes something to its size. If the stani had been smaller it is possible that the villagers would have resisted its initial lodgement in 1944 or that the later attempt to drive it out by force would have been more effective. It is certain that in 1954 the most impressive argument which their patrons were able to advance to the authorities was the simple fact that this large body of persons and animals had to be accommodated somewhere to avoid violence and political embarrassment. Furthermore, no stani of moderate size and resources could have easily afforded the expenses of these struggles in fees and bribes.

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221 The composition of co-operating 'companies' in the winter and summer pastures is not necessarily the same. Often those

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PATRONAGE

1. COMMUNITY

THE Sarakatsani of Zagori are profoundly conscious of their identity as a community in relation to villagers or townspeople. Hostility to villagers is not only a question of a conflict of interests but also a difference of values. The Sarakatsani believe that if the material conditions of their life are indeed regrettable, yet the moral life of their community upholds Greek traditional values which villagers, especially in Zagori, have debased and betrayed. Specifically they claim that the men may be cursed or the women seduced with little fear of provoking the reaction expected of honourable men. These claims are spiced with illustrations. The classic instance is the case of the postman who surprised another villager in the act of intercourse with his wife. He took no action, however, except to observe that this did not seem to him to be the conduct of a good neighbour. Other tales inform of homosexual practices with gipsies, and of ugly widows and unmarried spinsters who satisfy their lusts with dogs. The evidence is rather more convincing for the accusation that they are mean and inhospitable. The common purpose of these allegations is, simply, to deny that the villagers of Zagori have honour. The men are lacking in manliness, courage, and generosity; the women are shameless and given to sexual lust. Criticism is sharpened by the knowledge that the shepherds themselves are despised by the villagers as people unfit to live in civilized society, physically unclean barbarians who put their trust in violence and self-help rather than the processes of law.

In these attitudes two ideal types are opposed. For the villagers of Zagori, actions must be judged against the image of the clever, astute, educated merchant and patriot who may travel abroad but continues to support the village by his benefactions. His activities, however, require an orderly social environment, a respect for the minimum of law and order, an absence of physical violence, and (although this would not be admitted) it required in the past a qualified understanding with the Turkish master.

COMMUNITY

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is something impermanent, almost fortuitous, about the local neighbourhood whether in summer or winter.¹ At the same time the significance and solidarity of the total Sarakatsani community is emphasized. The expression, 'we, the Sarakatsani of Zagori' is common; but 'we, the Sarakatsani of Tsepelevo' (or any other village), is heard less frequently. 619 621 (221)

Yet it is in the local neighbourhood that hostility between Sarakatsani and Zagori villagers is actively expressed. Property rights are jealously guarded, and in the absence of fencing it is inevitable that Sarakatsani sheep and mules are discovered in the crops or gardens of villagers. They trespass regularly and deliberately on certain areas of grassland reserved for the cutting of hay on which the villagers rely to feed their livestock during the winter months. The shepherds also attempt to defraud the village treasury by concealing some of their sheep when the flock is numbered each spring. For their part the Sarakatsani resent the fines they must pay in the agricultural court for the depredations committed by their animals. They believe, too, that they are cheated in the allotment of watering time by the villager who regulates the irrigation of village vegetable gardens. There are quarrels over the regulations for the grazing and watering of mules, which favour the villagers. There is trouble over the use of springs for washing clothes and over the refusal of the Sarakatsani to use earth-closets. Indeed, there is trouble between the two groups at every point of contact between them. Since their rights are entrenched by the decrees passed in the village council and because the executive administration of village affairs is necessarily in the hands of villagers who are in residence all the year, the villagers are almost always in a legally secure position in differences with Sarakatsani. It follows that the villager appeals to the law which happens to favour his interests, the Sarakatsanos more often turns to self-help and violence; Justice is not a question of the impartial administration of existing law, although this, too, may be lacking in the view of the Sarakatsani. If the law does not allow a man to protect the interests and dignity of his family, then it does not represent justice. 621 648 623 692 627

¹ In this connexion it is worth remarking that before the Sarakatsani became village citizens in 1938 a family, or stani, did not necessarily go to the same grazing village in Zagori each year. 647

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Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis" that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

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Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

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* A *moderis* is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

SPIRITUAL KINSHIP

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On the other hand, any attempt to organize systematic co-operation between the families of the community faces almost insuperable obstacles. An 'Association of Nomad Pastoralists' was formed in 1950 to represent the interests of the community to the government and other agencies. But enthusiasm waned rapidly as soon as it was realized that it could not miraculously improve the situation without the moral and financial support of its members over a number of years. The members are almost exclusively Sarakatsani but significantly the salaried executive secretary is a villager; first, because no shepherd possesses the legal expertise to negotiate with officials; secondly, because, although few shepherds trust the secretary, it would be even more distasteful to discuss one's problems with another Sarakatsanos. Here we touch on the difficulty which faces any attempt at community organization beyond the competence of the co-operating 'company'. It necessarily involves the acceptance of some executive authority. But for reasons of pride and distrust a Sarakatsanos cannot surrender any fraction of the sovereignty of his family.

As we have seen, this does not mean that the community has no sense of its solidarity and opposition to villagers. On the contrary, when the honour of the community is publicly attacked, unrelated men will stand together in its defence. To do nothing would be to betray their manhood in one another's eyes. This is a relationship of identification. But the conflict of practical interests between Sarakatsani and the villagers, the merchants, or the government, is a different form of threat. And although these problems are similar in kind for all, the problems of one family are generally separated in time and space from those of another. When a man's own interests are not immediately endangered, he is secretly pleased about the misfortunes of other men who are not kinsmen or affines. To face these difficulties as a united community would require co-operative relationships between non-kinsmen. Since these are not possible, we must now consider how, in fact, each family attempts to protect itself from the external threats to its security and prosperity.

2. SPIRITUAL KINSHIP

In his struggle to protect his family and live his own way of life the Sarakatsanos must come to terms with various persons

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and groups in the village, the town, and the State, which have the power to threaten his interests. The officers and merchants with whom he must deal have a common quality that they stand outside the community's field of values. In the absence of strongly held universal values concerning the obligations of a man towards general humanity they feel free to exploit, or at least not to help, another person from whom they are divided by the absence of common ties of kinship, community, or class. If they have power, they see no reason why they should discipline themselves in its use towards a person from whom they are morally isolated.

To protect himself the Sarakatsanos tries to establish some kind of link which will transform an otherwise impersonal confrontation into a personal relation; that is, he attempts to draw the individual whose goodwill he wishes to influence into an institutionalized relationship which may exist across the frontiers of community and involves the person's self-esteem and to some extent the sanction of public opinion, so that he must discipline himself in the extent and manner in which he exercises his power. The most effective means of achieving these ends is the form of spiritual kinship between the bridegroom and his wedding sponsor (χομπάρος). After the birth of a child this changes into the even more significant relation between the natural parent and the spiritual parent.

The duties of the wedding sponsor begin on the day of the wedding, throughout which he supports the bridegroom by his close presence both in the secular marriage custom and feasting, and at the religious services of betrothal and marriage. He stands at the right hand of the groom and it is his privilege to exchange three times the crowns of the bride and bridegroom. By his public sponsorship of the marriage he declares that it is an honourable union and that the partners are persons worthy to receive the sacrament of marriage; on the spiritual plane he becomes responsible for them. The relationship (χομπάρια) which is established between the groom and his sponsor (and for which there seems to be no adequate modern English translation) does not end with the ceremony. It looks forward to the birth of children which is the explicit purpose of the marriage. It is the right and the duty of the wedding sponsor to stand for these children at their baptism, and consequently to enter a

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The powers of this council are wide. By a simple majority ^G623 vote it may institute any local by-law it pleases, providing this does not conflict with the letter or spirit of national legislation. Within statutory limits, it determines the local grazing charges ^G651 to be levied on the flocks of pastoralists. And it draws up its own budget of future communal expenditure. These privileges ^G639 are balanced by the discretionary power of veto over budgetary and taxation decisions which is possessed by the Nomarch, who is the provincial administrator appointed by the central Government.

The day-to-day administration of village affairs is the task of ^G622 the President, who receives an allowance in compensation for ^G624 the time he spends on community affairs. He is assisted in this work by a permanent salaried village secretary who keeps the registers up to date, deals with correspondence, and draws up a variety of returns which are required by different Government Ministries. Indeed, both these village officials act, not infrequently, for the central Government in matters of routine administration, instruction, and in the collection of information. ^G622 Although in the decisions of the council the President's vote, of itself, carries no greater weight than that of any other member, his control over the administration of parochial affairs and his intimate relations with the Government bureaucracy, whether he is acting as a negotiator representing the interests of the villagers, or as an agent of the bureaucracy, give him in fact substantially greater power than other members of his council.

For these reasons it is generally with the President that the ^S648 Sarakatsani must negotiate their affairs. In a number of important matters he has the power to affect their interests collectively or individually. In the first place, the council decides the ^S651 scale of grazing charges. The village is permitted by law to charge, for summer grazing, up to two shillings a head for the first 150 animals and up to four shillings for the remainder of the flock. It may, however, charge less.³ And it is noticeable ^S627 that in those villages where the shepherd families are in a politically strategic position grazing charges tend to be lower than in other villages where this is not the case. Threepence or sixpence ^S626 a head difference in a grazing charge does not represent a very

³ The minimum charge is 41d. a head.

large sum of money, but to men who are already deeply in debt to merchants or shopkeepers, it has significance. For them, debt implies a form of dependence which is a measure of weakness.

The Sarakatsani say that if a village President and council enforce all local laws without allowing some flexibility, it becomes impossible for a shepherd family to live. If, on the other hand, the President is willing to grant them various favours (pouepéria, εύνοιας), which take into consideration the effect of the law on personal circumstances, their position may be, at least, not entirely hopeless. In practice, all Presidents with Sarakatsani on their citizenship rolls relax certain regulations for the shepherd families which support them. The political skill of a President, even an implacable opponent of the shepherds, is that he grants just a sufficient number of favours to a few Sarakatsan families to detach them from the ranks of the opposition at the time of the elections.

It is the President who decides each spring which area of the village grazing land shall be allotted to each family or co-operating 'company' of shepherds. At Skamnelli, for instance, there are three main areas, Goura, Tsoumako, and Gyphtokambos. Goura has the best grass, Gyphtokambos the worst. It is the customary arrangement that each family goes to a different area each year. Yet within each general area different sections are of different quality so that friends may still be rewarded and enemies punished in a way that touches them very closely through the milk yield and the condition of their animals.

The President is often able to influence the actions of the village agricultural guard and forester. Both these officials, although they belong to a Government service, are dependent in various ways on the goodwill of the President, and if he is displeased with their work it is relatively easy to have them exchanged. By regulation, if an agricultural guard discovers a trespass on village land, or the forester finds animals grazing in forbidden areas, they must issue a summons against the shepherd in charge of the offending animals. But if the President is able to have a word with the guard or forester before he writes the details of the case in his report book, and if no third person is present, he may be able to persuade him to ignore the matter.

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The President has more direct control over the man who is employed by the village to regulate the flow of water to the village vegetable gardens. He is able to arrange matters so that a fair share of water is given to, or withheld from, a Sarakatsan family.

For a number of purposes the Sarakatsani require the signature of the President on forms, certificates, or passes. He may be able to cause considerable trouble to a shepherd through delay, or by finding technical irregularities in his documents. These powers of the President are particularly feared. Although some of the leaders of co-operating 'companies' of families are extremely able and alert men, the ordinary Sarakatsan head of family is completely bewildered by documents, printed forms, and regulations, most of which are written in an official language which he only half comprehends. A Sarakatsanos with a large family and only 60 sheep lost six of his animals through disease in the summer of 1955. He came to the village office to ask the President to sign a form for a loan from the Agricultural Bank to replace the dead animals. At the time he was in considerable difficulties, his family was short of flour, and on account of his poverty, small flock, and deep indebtedness, his cheese merchant would make no further advances of credit. There was no doubt about the authenticity of his claim. The agricultural guard had made a report that the animals belonged to this man and that they had the unmistakable symptoms of liver fluke. After ignoring the man's presence in the office for about three-quarters of an hour, the President suddenly pointed to one of the many conditional clauses in the regulations printed in small type. 'You understand that yours is a difficult case. It is only five days since you arrived here from the plains and this clause says that confirmation of the details of the case must be signed by the President of the village where the disease was contracted. Obviously they became sick in the plains or on the road; anyway, not here. Perhaps you must return to Philippiada to have this signed. However, I shall write to the Ministry of Agriculture in Jannina and we shall see.' The man haltingly explained his difficulties, referring to the plight of his family. The President spread his hands and smiled benignly, 'You know that I always try to help you tent-dwellers (σπηλιότες) but in this case,' putting his thumb on the offending clause, 'what

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 can I do?" After the man had left the office the President explained that he would sign the form in a few days. He was a man who loved honour, he added, but it was necessary that the men who had voted against him in the recent election should learn that their interests lay in supporting him and not that communist cuckold (a reference to the leader of the opposition party).

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 The Agricultural Bank has been mentioned. Each year, the shepherd applies to the bank for an annual loan, the application form for which must carry the President's signature as a guarantee that the information given by the shepherd is accurate. Long-term loans are also available from this bank to assist families which have lost their stock through disease. In these cases, the shepherd must produce evidence that the animals in fact died of a particular disease, and were not sold, or given away as dowry. In addition, the application must be approved by the local officer of the Ministry of Agriculture; and this support will be hard to win if the village President has characterized the shepherd as spendthrift or inefficient.

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 Twice a year when the Sarakatsani leave the mountains, or the plains, the local village President must sign a clearance certificate which confirms that all their grazing charges have been paid. This is required by the police before they will issue the pass without which a family cannot move its flocks to another district. These moneys are not paid directly to the village council but into a treasury in Jannina, whose official collector arrives in the village some three weeks before the flocks are normally moved to their winter pastures in the plains. If, as frequently happens, a Sarakatsanos is unable to pay his dues, the collector may send a demand notice to the police, and if this is not met when it is presented, the shepherd is arrested. But in many cases the President intervenes and persuades the treasury to allow the defaulter six months' grace until he returns in the spring.

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 A man requires the President's signature on his identity card. He requires it when he applies for an allotment of free timber from village forest land for the repair of his house, and on other documents which it would be tedious to enumerate. In all these situations the President may be the helper who makes all things easy, or a deliberate and successful obstructionist.

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There are other ways, less legal, in which the President may sometimes help Sarakatsan friends. When the sheep are mustered for counting each spring on their arrival at the village, it is relatively easy for the President to arrange that the total of animals is underestimated so that perhaps 350 instead of 400 is entered in the records for taxation purposes. Similarly, when milk, meat or wool are sold to a merchant a tax of 2 per cent is levied on the value of the sale. For a friend the President may mark down the price actually paid over for animals or the products they yield. With the connivance of the President and the schoolteacher, a family which is short of labour may sometimes take a child from school before the full term of its compulsory education is completed. It is also possible for the President to do some things to a Sarakatsanos which are strictly against law or custom, because the man may be frightened that if he takes the case to the courts, or the Nomarch, he may suffer worse injustices in the long run. After Theodoros voted against the President in the elections, his sheep were sent for the second year in succession to the worst area of village grazing land. Theodoros could have appealed to the Nomarch but decided it was more politic to settle his differences with the President by more indirect methods.

The strength of the President's position is apparent. In their efforts to come to terms with his authority and influence, the Sarakatsani attempts to draw him into some form of personal relationship that will introduce a moral element of mutual consideration. Three methods are in general practice: spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. The first of these has been discussed. The second possibility is that the Sarakatsanos may be able to align himself as the 'friend' (*φίλος*) and political supporter of the President, if he will accept him.

Here a brief digression is necessary to consider the nature of friendship in Zagori villages.⁴ Between villagers ties of friendship relate persons who are, in principle, equals. All villagers, without discrimination, possess the same legal rights in the local polity. If a man is also honourable in his conduct, a good neighbour, and legitimately born of Zagori parents, he is entitled in the social life of the village to be treated with a degree

⁴ Friendship in Epirote villages appears to be very similar to the parallel institution in Andalusia. Cf. Pitt-Rivers, *op. cit.*, chapter 7.

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might lead to relations of political friendship. A relationship which has many of the aspects of patronage exists between the dominant family and the other associated families in a co-operating 'company', but these connexions are based on the values of kinship, not friendship. When a Sarakatsanos says 'I have him as a friend', he generally means that he has established a relation of mutual advantage with a person outside the community who in most cases is in the superordinate position of patron. The use of the word 'friend' by the Sarakatsanos is not here encumbered with any theory of equality or disinterested motives. The fact that in terms of power he is the weaker partner in the majority of his relations of friendship is recognized by the Sarakatsanos but does not immediately concern his pride since these people stand outside his community. On the contrary, the more effective relationships of this kind that a man possesses, the greater his prestige in the community since it proves him to be an able protector of his family and his flock.

It is by no means certain that a President will accept any Sarakatsanos as his political client. What the President has to offer will be clear enough from the earlier description of the ways in which he can help or hinder. The chief service the shepherd is able to pledge in return is his vote and those of his family and associated kinsmen. But to accept a man as a client commits the patron to protection instead of exploitation, and to that extent it is a restriction on the free exercise of his power. A President generally prefers to assume these obligations only to Sarakatsani with some influence. Naturally, more humble families have vicarious access to his patronage through their influential kinsmen, but the intermediate link which separates them from the President's beneficence makes it less likely that their affairs will be settled with the same despatch and satisfaction.

The extent to which a President needs to enter these commitments depends, of course, on the balance of the political groupings in his village. In one village the President commanded about three quarters of the village vote, but by his generally uncompromising hostility he had driven the Sarakatsani into the arms of the small opposition party. A month before the election it appeared that he had no Sarakatsan supporters and that his cause was lost. Conveniently the election was held in November,

after the Sarakatsani had departed to the plains eighty miles away. The opposition party chartered a lorry to transport, as they had calculated it, an adequate number of Sarakatsan voters to assure their victory. But, in the event, the President skilfully contrived a narrow majority by making secret agreements with two shepherd families. The five members of these families who returned from the plains, ironically enough in the lorry chartered by the opposition, were sufficient to give the President victory and a new term of office.

After the election the two families received a number of favours. In the spring the sheep of one family were short-counted by sixty and the flock of the other, which by right of the customary rotation of grazing areas ought to have gone to an area of indifferent grazing, spent a more profitable summer on the village's best grassland. In the face of the unusual solidarity of the local Sarakatsan group at the time of the election, the action of the two dissident families was described as treacherous. They were branded as 'The President's men', with an overtone of meaning which implied that they were puppets dancing at the command of the master, capable even of betraying their own people. Yet as passions cooled and the months passed, evaluations changed perceptibly. At first the members of these families were unequivocally 'traitors', but later they were considered merely 'cunning' (by no means an entirely pejorative judgement), and eventually one sometimes heard grudging admissions of their 'cleverness'. For it is recognized that each family is free to seek its own protection and the political friends who can provide it. Indeed, Sarakatsani believe that in the nature of the situation favours and concessions are to be won only by some, not all families. It is, therefore, the duty of each head of family to scheme and intrigue for his own security. Only in the case of a breach of faith between kinsmen is an accusation of treachery seriously considered.

But the friendship which a Sarakatsanos achieves with a village President, or indeed with any other influential person, involves more than the exchange of specific material favours; it establishes, also, an asymmetrical relation of sociability which enhances the prestige of both men. A Sarakatsanos who has friendship with the President boldly sits down with him at the same table when he enters the coffee-shop. The President offers

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him a drink, he stands him a drink in return. Meeting him in the village square, the shepherd stops to talk for a few minutes about this and that. Were they not patron and client, a curt 'Good day' from each side would be the extent of their social intercourse. However, it is not a relationship of equals. The shepherd belongs not only to a different community, but to a qualitatively inferior one. While the President will say of a villager who is similarly his client that this man is his friend, he will not say this of a shepherd. If an explanation in his presence is necessary, he may say, 'George is a good lad, I help him', but behind his back he will simply say, 'He is my man'. Yet, although they are his social inferiors, the President gains prestige by being seen publicly with his shepherd clients. If he drinks with other villagers who are his supporters, this is no cause for comment. He merely keeps company with those who are his social equals and natural companions. When he drinks with four or five shepherds it draws attention to his possession of power, to his ability to hold men who do not waste their time drinking with ordinary villagers whom as a class of persons they detest and despise. The Sarakatsanos accepts his position of inferiority in the relationship because he must. He does not, as most villagers would, address the President by his Christian name; but he is not subservient in his manner. He speaks to him courteously as 'President'. When another person of importance comes to speak to the President, and it is clear that he is dismissed, he moves to another table, or with a 'Good health, President', to which the latter replies, he leaves the shop. These are the conventional terms on which these unequal friendships are founded. What is important to the Sarakatsanos in these situations is that other shepherds who do not possess this valued link should see and envy him.

In asymmetrical friendship relations, since it is assumed that the patron has more favours to offer than the client can return, or that reciprocal favours are so dissimilar in quality that accountability is difficult, there is often greater stability than in friendships between equals, which are very frequently bedevilled by accusations of ingratitude. Yet, even here, there are many complaints, the patron asserting that the client should be more vocal in his gratitude, the client complaining that the patron does very little in relation to the client's worth and needs, and

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S the services he has rendered. In short, the patron wants more honour, the client more benefits.

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The third widely practised method of placating or influencing the President is to present him with a gift of cheese, butter, or meat. Some families do this each spring as a matter of general policy without having in mind any particular favour. They hope that the gift may moderate his general attitude towards them in the coming months. More often, families wait until they face some specific difficulty. A gift of cheese or some other produce is delivered to the President's home and then, perhaps two days later, the gift-giver walks into the village office and makes his request. The President may be helpful or he may not. The assumptions of the giver and the recipient of the gift are not necessarily the same. The giver hopes that the gift will arouse some sense of obligation in the receiver. But the latter, if he chooses to feel that the gift was forced on him against his will, may decide that he is not obliged to feel grateful. If he intends not to grant the favour, the refusal is never direct. The many difficulties which stand in the way are elaborated at very great length. He explains that he will see what can be done, he will write to a friend in Jannina, he wants to help. In fact he will do nothing; and the original gift is not returned.

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A gift is frequently offered to the President by a Sarakatsanos when he meets with legal troubles. Stratos and a number of his kinsmen were using 20 mules to transport wooden planks from a saw-mill to the road below the village where the wood was loaded on to lorries. The area for the grazing of Sarakatsan mules and horses is an hour's climb above the village and this was very inconvenient for Stratos and the other muleteers. They chanced their luck and grazed their animals at night in the little-frequented village orchards close to their loading-point. On the thirty-ninth night of their operations they were discovered by the agricultural guard who from his examination of the length of the grass and some damage to young apple trees was confident of a very successful case. Stratos was not able to claim that the President was his friend, but since he was a law-abiding careful man his relations with the President had been generally good. He begged for his assistance, explaining the extreme difficulty the group would have suffered if each night

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the mules had had to be released so far from the scene of operations. He managed also to mention that he would like to help the President in the current rebuilding of his house. It so happened that he had two loads of timber which he did not require. The next day, the President saw the agricultural guard and warned him that, in his opinion, it would only be reasonable to take into consideration the one night when he had actually seen the mules. For the rest, who could say? There had been high winds recently which often damaged trees, and he added that he had noticed one of the agricultural guard's own goats straying one evening in the direction of the orchards. Accordingly, the President received his wood, Stratos and his kinsmen escaped with a small fine, and the agricultural guard's dream of a triumphant case came to nothing.

Two points must be stressed about this method of influencing the President. Gifts must be presented with finesse. A man of honour is not to be crudely bought by social inferiors if he does not wish to lose prestige in the community. The shepherd must give the lamb, butter, or cheese to the President as if it were merely an expression of friendly respect, and in no way tied to the favour he is about to request. Secondly, whether in relation to these gifts of produce, or to other perquisites of his office, the limited dishonesty and corruptibility of a President is not dishonourable. 'He eats money' (τρώει παράδες), others say with envy. But they concede that this is the right of his office. His allowance is not large, he too must live, he also has a family to support. If a favour, even where it is entirely legal, involves trouble beyond the ordinary routine duties of his office, why should he weary himself for a man to whom he is not related in any way, unless that man by a gift, or in some other way, demonstrates the esteem in which he holds him.

We have now discussed in the order of their effectiveness three ways in which the Sarakatsani attempt to influence the President of their summer village—spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. In principle, spiritual kinship binds a President to help the shepherd in all situations. Ideally it is a diffuse relation, there is nothing reasonable that cannot be requested, and the right to expect this assistance is sanctioned by the ritual link between godfather and godchild. Friendship of the kind established between a village President and a Sarakatsanos, is a

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patron-client relationship of some stability over time, and the range of favours which may be demanded is almost as extensive as that between spiritual kinsmen, but the atmosphere of calculation is more pronounced. Confidence which is ritually sanctioned in spiritual kinship is more easily destroyed in the relations of patron and client. Gifts given by a shepherd to the President generally have a specific object in view and each gift is effective for only a short period of time if, indeed, it is effective at all.

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The President is not the only man with power or influence in a village; the other members of the council, the schoolmaster, the priest, other villagers of wealth or reputation may have these qualities in varying degree. When the President is particularly severe towards them, the shepherds attempt, by the same methods we have just considered, to attach themselves to other persons in the village who are known to have influence on the council, or personally over the President himself.

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When the sheep of Theodoros were despatched by the President to the poorest area of grazing for the second year because of his active opposition during the elections, Theodoros did not appeal to the Nomarch against this injustice. He went instead to Vlachopoulos. Vlachopoulos is the Vice-President of the village, and the President's closest friend. He also owns the older of the two village coffee-shops which is the one more generally patronized by the Sarakatsani both for social gatherings and for the many small purchases which they make. After the bitter feelings aroused by the autumn elections there was a spontaneous boycott of the Vlachopoulos shop by the Sarakatsani and at the time when Theodoros approached him two or three weeks after the shepherds had returned to the summer pasture, only a few Sarakatsan men were to be seen drinking in the old shop. For a week Theodoros assiduously made small purchases in the shop. Finding Vlachopoulos alone one day, he took the next step by remarking that he was not a man to dwell on old scores and that he thought his return to the shop proved this point. It seemed, however, that the President was still governed by his rage and spite. This was surely unjust, and he asked Vlachopoulos if he would not intercede with the President on his behalf. Vlachopoulos agreed to do this. It is a fair assumption that he was especially pleased to see Theodoros who leads

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a substantial co-operating 'company' and has many other kinsmen in the local group of shepherds. It was very probable that if Theodoros returned to his shop to drink, as well as to buy, the boycott would be over. This proved to be the case. Vlachopoulos persuaded the President to rearrange the grazing areas, and after a week or two of further delay to impress upon Theodoros the misguided nature of his opposition in the previous autumn, the President eventually effected the necessary changes.

A Zagori village and the local group of Sarakatsani that is linked to it through rights of citizenship, form a network of friendship relations, some of which are symmetrical and others of the patron-client variety. This network enables a man in many situations to obtain a measure of satisfaction from a person with whom he is in direct opposition. He achieves this by indirect pressure because he is a client, or friend, of the friend of his enemy. Villagers and shepherds are careful to maintain friendship links with opposed political factions and personages whenever this is possible. The implication is that there are often inherent limits on the way in which the President or other influential villagers may use their power against most individuals, since, very probably, in any particular act of victimization they are attacking the friend, or client, of one of their own friends. Only very poor villagers, or Sarakatsani with small flocks who are not attached to the co-operating 'company' of more powerful kinsmen, may be treated unjustly without encountering some responding pressure through the system of friendships; for these persons, having little to offer in return, may not have patrons. But in other cases to ignore the pressures received through the system of friendships may endanger important relationships on which a man's influence and prestige largely depend. It is not suggested, however, that a man with strategically aligned friendships is secure from all injustice. On the contrary, Theodoros suffered a considerable financial loss until his friendship with Vlachopoulos rescued him from further punishment.

In the Zagori villages, as in the Sarakatsan community, a dominant feature of the social system is the isolation of the family and its struggle against other families, whether in terms of the possibility of bare subsistence or of social prestige. The

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 more important social obligations are particular to the individual's family, and these stand in direct conflict with the weaker and more general responsibilities of good neighbourliness. The notion of service to the community (*εὐπρεσία*) exists, and is honoured. But the service takes a form which honours the individual, his family and the community in equal degree as, for instance, in the foundation of a church or school. Such services are never anonymous. The idea of service to fellow citizens of the same community exists also, but it remains an ideal value which is not realized in a society where familial obligations have an absolute priority. The President and councillors of the village are firstly heads of households and only secondly public servants. A President does not feel under the same moral obligation, even within the sphere of his formal duties, to help equally a close kinsman, a spiritual kinsman, a friend, and a man to whom he is linked only by common citizenship. It is suggested that in this absence, for the most part, of universally applicable values the system of village friendship and patronage in fact achieves a distribution of various facilities which, although it is never equitable, guards most families, even those of the hard-pressed Sarakatsani of Zagori, against complete exclusion. The system of friendship and patronage achieves this, not by upholding any general rights of citizenship, but, in a sense paradoxically, by an appeal to the individual and family interests of a person in authority. For without friends a man loses all power, influence, and social prestige.

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 The Sarakatsani not only need to come to terms with the village authorities, they must also adapt themselves to the laws and regulations of the State, and attempt in their own interests to influence the administration of Government regulations so far as these affect their own affairs. This involves relations with civil servants at various levels in the hierarchy.

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 Some State regulations are administered through the structure of village authority which has been examined. In other instances the impact of State administration is direct. In the Zagori, as in other local districts, an agricultural officer of the Ministry of Agriculture has an office in the capital village of the district. Such matters as loans from the Agricultural Bank,

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permission to burn off grass, appeals against the various restrictions on grazing in forest areas, advice about animal disease, and free distribution of sprays to combat insect pests fall within this official's competence. But in these and other questions a shepherd is often referred to the provincial office at Jannina, or in winter at Igoumenitsa, Arta, and Preveza. The Greek police, a paramilitary organization, have a central station under the command of a captain in the capital village of each local district, but sections of police are also stationed in outlying areas of the district, each section serving three or four villages. It frequently happens that Sarakatsani are late in the payment of their grazing dues. Although these are assessed by the village, they are paid to the public treasury in the provincial centre. When the police are informed by the treasury that a payment has not been made, they must attempt to serve a demand notice. If payment is again withheld, the debtor is taken under escort to the public treasury and, if he is still unable to pay, from there to prison. But the circumstance that these demands for payment must be served on one individual in person, and not merely to his home or a member of his family, results in a perpetual pantomime of hide-and-seek between police and heads of shepherd families. This causes irritation and bad feeling on both sides. It is a common experience to find a man secreted under a blanket in the darker corner of a kinsman's hut when it is known that police are in the village.

Sarakatsani are sometimes involved in difficulties with the military authorities over conscription. A family with only one son, a physically handicapped father, and without sufficient resources to hire a shepherd, may submit a case for the postponement or abbreviation of the son's term of military service before a committee of appeal. This committee, however, is not thought to be very liberal in its decisions.

The Sarakatsani face the jurisdiction of the State in their frequent adventures in courts of law.^a The laws that concern the Sarakatsani in their daily life do not generally favour them. The interests of shepherds tend to be opposed to those of peasants or townsmen. For instance, there are many civil suits between owners of private properties and Sarakatsani who claim

^a I am not considering here the many cases of animal trespass which are heard in local agricultural courts.

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a disputed right of protected lease for their grazing. And, sometimes, shepherds are plaintiffs in cases challenging the decisions of a village administration. The regulations of village life differ from the conventions of semi-nomads. And their adherence to the traditional code of honour necessarily conflicts with the laws of a modern State. They distrust legal procedures because their pleas are frequently unsuccessful and in many instances they regress into acts of violence which two generations ago would have been the general response to the interference of outside authority. Often a certain *naivete* or simple ignorance about what is legal, and what is not, leads them into trouble. It is rare for a head of family not to be involved in some capacity in at least one suit each year. In 1955 George Carvounis, who was not exceptional in this respect, acted as a principal in two cases, one civil, one criminal. In the first he was sued for violent assault and defamation of character by a village woman, whom he had rough handled when she attempted to pull down a wall which she alleged had been set up by Carvounis on her land. In the second case he was charged with forgery, having found it innocently convenient to sign a document with the name of another member of his co-operating 'company'.

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But the critical point of contact between the Sarakatsanos and the bureaucrat is in the situation where his winter grazing is in danger. Then, the leader of a stani must attempt to influence the highest State officials in the Epirus if he is to face, with confidence, the threat of exclusion from his winter pastures.

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Gifts and money bribes are freely offered in making approaches to a minor State servant. Gifts of produce are generally made to the agricultural officer; for, even if he is not a native of the district, he becomes a member of the local village community where he occupies a respectable position in the system of village friendship; moreover, since he has some pretensions to education and culture it might be insulting to offer money. Gifts of produce are also preferred in dealing with a local police sergeant. Not all policemen are venal and it is a serious offence to offer bribes of money to a member of this force. Money bribes are often effective in preventing agricultural and forest guards from reporting the trespasses of animals, if the offence has not been observed by a third party. These guards belong,

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generally, to poor families of low prestige, and in the Zagori they are often villagers of gipsy origin. Such persons are despised by the Sarakatsani, and they themselves are generally prepared to accept money bribes without the least embarrassment.

To conduct business with minor public servants in the administrative offices at Jannina, Sarakatsani use small bribes. Often at the doorways of these buildings there is a desk staffed by two or three ushers. These men examine with a brusque lack of sympathy the forms which the shepherd has in his hand, or they demand to know his business, if only to ignore his explanation. He may wish to see a particular official to whom he has been recommended. He believes that a gratuity of five to ten shillings is essential if he is to find the right man. If he wishes to submit an application form in the general office of the same building, he hands it over the counter to the clerk with the equivalent of a ten shilling note on the underside. The shepherd hopes that this will at least ensure that the form is filed; and perhaps nearer the top than the bottom of the pile. Here, the relationship between the shepherd and the junior official is temporary and anonymous. The reputation of the man of higher status, in the eyes of the man in the lower position, is not at stake. The bribe is small, not necessarily effective, and it is not discussed. It is passed secretly. And this saves each clerk from losing the esteem of his colleagues who are themselves engaged in the same practice.

But in affairs of great importance, which must reach the desk of senior officials, the shepherd leader generally feels unable to conduct his own affairs. It is difficult, in any case, for a humble shepherd to penetrate to the offices of senior officials. If he does reach this point, his rough clothes and awkward manners, alternating between obsequiousness and effrontery, make progress difficult. Sarakatsani say, with good reason, that in offices nobody pays the least attention to a man without a collar and tie. And they have little confidence in their own forensic abilities in this kind of situation. As one Sarakatsanos said of himself and his people, 'Shepherds hesitate. If I can make five points in a conversation, he (the official) can return twenty.'

Moreover, even the director of an office does not conduct business privately. His secretary and aides have desks in the same room. By the public transaction of affairs, and the display

of his power, he emphasizes his status before the eyes of his subordinates and stresses their dependence on himself. To listen patiently to the incoherent ramblings of a Sarakatsanos, the name of whose very profession, shepherd (πάις), is a synonym for stupidity, much less to take trouble and thought over assisting him, would be to lose prestige and betray the status of his position, the validation of which lies in pride, not humility. Generally such officials are curt, rude, and unhelpful, or to indulge their attendants, use the shepherd for a show of witty mockery. Direct bribery is out of the question in the absence of secrecy, and it is also dangerous, since the corruptibility of officials grows less certain as the hierarchy is ascended.

Where he cannot reach or influence a high State official, the shepherd turns to his patron or, if he is a man without influence, to the patron of a more powerful kinsman. The patron may be a man of any profession with political influence in Jannina, a doctor, engineer, or merchant; but most frequently he is a lawyer. The lawyer in Greek rural society is not only the man who gives legal advice and attends a client in court, but he also acts as an intermediary between the peasant or shepherd and the State authorities. He acts in the general role of a professional 'fixer'.

Some of the difficulties which arise between the State and the Sarakatsani community have their origin in the necessarily general character of government legislation. Perhaps it is decided to protect the nation's forests. A law is passed which forbids the grazing of goats in forested areas. Incorporated within the general law are a number of conditional clauses relating to the definition of various kinds of forest, the priority for their protection, and the question of hardship to pastoralists which may lead to a relaxation of the restrictions in certain circumstances and in certain categories of forest. But the law-making assembly cannot legislate for all possible local contingencies. The administration and interpretation of the law lie in the hands of the public servants.

However, within the public service there exists a certain inertia and reluctance to delegate power: A senior official defines the unequivocal superiority of his status in the hierarchy by forcing his junior officers to refer to himself every case which involves the initiative of judgement and decision. In this manner

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he attaches junior officials to his own will since they cannot move without his approval, and he enhances his prestige because he is seen to be indispensable. At the same time, he secures his power and nourishes his self-regard. But the convergence of so many cases awaiting decision upon a limited number of senior officials in Jannina and Athens who cannot personally know the detailed circumstances of a case except through the exiguous details set out on printed forms, creates interminable delays and inhibits the equitable administration of government laws and regulations. In the Epirus, where many villagers and shepherds live on the margin of bare subsistence, these limitations of administration might prove disastrous for many families, were they not able to put their affairs into the hands of a lawyer or some other patron. For if, in the example we have chosen, a man cannot graze his goats in the one area where he has the right to do this, he must sell the animals which provide him with his living. The lawyer is able to bring a case to the direct notice of a senior official, to frame it to the best advantage; and sometimes, if he has considerable influence, to gain concessions for his client which are not strictly within the relevant law's terms of reference.

The significance of the lawyer's position is his ability to face in two directions. Because of the prestige and status of a successful lawyer in Greek society he may be able in a provincial town to number amongst his friends, judges, army officers, doctors, the Nomarch, and other senior officials of the Government bureaucracy. With these men he sits and drinks at the tables of the town's more fashionable coffee-shops and in the lounge of the best hotel. As a member of this professional *élite* he is able to recommend the affairs of his clients to the attention of various friends who may be able to help. They give this help because of their friendship for the lawyer; they are relatively indifferent to the worth of the client and the justice of his case. In return, a lawyer is able during local and national elections to promise the political support of his clients. He also assists his friends by legal advice in their own affairs and in the affairs of their kinsmen many of whom, often, are themselves villagers.

The Sarakatsani because of their many political difficulties and disabilities are critical assessors of the personal abilities of different lawyers. The profession is over-crowded and there is a

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wide range of choice. It is essential for the Sarakatsanos that his lawyer has influential affiliations with the leading political parties. It is not fortuitous that the Jannina lawyer with the largest Sarakatsan following in 1955 happened to be the secretary of the Epirus branch of the Government party. But the secretary to the Liberal party also has many clients. Although he supports an opposition party, Government servants do not lightly refuse his requests for they are anxious to avoid questions and 'revelations' in Parliament, and to secure some form of reinsurance against the day when the Government changes.

In general, it is to the advantage of both the lawyer and the Sarakatsan family head to make their association a personal relationship with diffuse mutual obligations. The lawyer becomes obliged to act as a general protector of the shepherd in all his affairs, the shepherd as a good client must show esteem and respect and give his patron the political support on which his power depends. It is not unusual for lawyers to become the godparents of their clients' children. Clients, whether or not they possess ties of spiritual kinship, cultivate the goodwill of their lawyer by periodic gifts of cheese and butter, and sometimes at Easter a lamb is presented. The nearer the relation between a Sarakatsanos and his lawyer approaches that of a patron and client friendship the more nominal the professional charges of the lawyer for legal services become. But in the nature of things it is easier for the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company' to establish an enduring friendship with his lawyer and to persuade him to win important concessions. He has more followers and more votes to offer. The lawyer does not lose prestige by attending to the affairs of simple men. This is his professional duty, and the more clients who throng his office and call out greetings to him as he walks along the street, the more political power he has, the more friends amongst the body of the provincial *élite*, and the more social prestige.

It would be tedious to present in detail examples of the many successful interventions by lawyer patrons. An over-zealous policeman in one village who made a speciality of arresting Sarakatsani for alleged disturbances of the peace was removed by the influence of a lawyer patron to a post in Mitylene. Another instance is the abbreviation of the military service of Christos Balatsos, an only son, whose family was handicapped

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by poverty and a father disabled by pleurisy. In this case the lawyer was a friend of the chairman of the appeal committee.

In the many court cases in which Sarakatsani figure the lawyers play a more strictly professional role. But there may still be scope on occasion for informal action, especially in civil suits which are heard before the bench without a jury. In a case concerning a disputed right of protected lease which threatened a Sarakatsanos with the loss of his winter pasture, the man in desperation asked his lawyer to approach the judge with a gift of £25. The lawyer took the money and the case was won. Without exception, villagers and shepherds assumed that at least half this money found its way into the judge's pocket. Villagers and shepherds have a simple faith that anybody, if he is approached in the right way and with the right sum, may be bought. In fact, there is no evidence that judges may be bribed. It may happen rarely. It probably happens more often that a lawyer friend is able to mention in conversation to a judge some aspect of a case which comes before him. And it certainly happens frequently that Sarakatsani put money into the hands of their lawyers which they believe will be used to bribe a judge or a senior government official, but which remains, in fact, in the lawyer's pocket.

Yet there is no doubt about the genuine assistance the lawyer gives to the shepherd in his critical fight to retain his rights of winter grazing. For instance, in the example already mentioned in chapter four, a considerable 'company' of families that winter their sheep in Thesprotia were able to counter the refusal of the villagers to rent them grazing land by presenting their case, through the influence of two powerful lawyer patrons, directly to the Governor General of the Epirus. The lawyers pleaded that humanly and politically it was impossible to allow eighty men, women, and children, and two thousand sheep, to walk the roads. As individuals moving in the same social *elite*, they were able to present an argument immediately suggesting that the Governor General's reputation for honour, and his political interests, were in danger.

The Member of Parliament for a provincial district plays in Athens a role very similar to that of the lawyer in the provincial centre. More members of the Greek Parliament belong to the legal profession than to any other. It is partly by possessing

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646 many clients, and many friends with clients, that a man is
666 successful in national elections.

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646 Since decisions of importance are rarely made by junior
662 officials it frequently happens that a man must take action in Athens if he is to find a favourable solution to his problems. The friend or client of a Member may ask him to use his influence in the office of the Ministry which is handling his case. When the Member visits his constituency his political friends and clients of all social standings come to wait on him in his office, or to drink with him in the coffee-shops. On these occasions he carries a notebook in which he writes down the details of the favours he is asked to arrange.

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648 We see that the Sarakatsanos in facing the hierarchy of
571 Government confronts persons of higher social status who share
554 with him no bond of kinship or community. As a rule only
S nationality and common humanity link them together. In
662 Greek society this is not an adequate basis for the acceptance of
G social obligations other than the common duty to defend the
647 nation against its external enemies. The indifference or hostility of very junior officials may be bought off. It is a simple *ad hoc* commercial transaction between persons almost entirely isolated from one another in terms of social relations or morality. But the indifference of senior officials cannot be directly countered with bribes, nor is it easy because of the social distance which separates them for a shepherd to approach successfully a senior official. These circumstances are also related to the public arrangement of business by senior Government servants and the need to assert their status and maintain their prestige before their colleagues and immediate subordinates.

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648 The system of lawyer patronage, which is an extension of the
571 more strictly legal practice of the lawyer, makes it possible for
G the affairs of villagers and shepherds to receive attention at that
647 level of the administrative hierarchy where decision and execution are possible. A shepherd and a senior official are not directly linked to each other by social obligation or morality. A Government servant sees no reason why he should assist some illiterate shepherd and many reasons why he should not, such as loss of prestige before his professional colleagues. But the lawyer, as the intermediary who stands between them, is related by obligations of patronage to the first, and the duties of

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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

3. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

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the family, and to the reciprocal hostility and distrust that exist between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. In general, there are few circumstances where his own wishes, or public opinion, allow a Sarakatsanos to honour an obligation outside the family at the expense of an obligation within it. Moreover, with the assistance of some kinsmen or affines the economy of each family is generally self-sufficient, and working co-operation between unrelated men is seldom necessary or, indeed, practicable. Families, within the community, compete for social prestige in terms of values which underline the particularist obligations to the family honour. A man's work, affections, and moral obligations are almost exclusively contained within the one small group. The commitment of energy, physical resources, or deep affection to an unrelated person is a kind of betrayal. For these reasons men do not associate, even within the community, on the basis of any universal principle of fair dealing. Nepotism is an obligation not a moral fault; and honour is opposed to the canon of honesty.

Inhibitions against self-seeking conduct are yet more tenuous in the relations of men who do not share the common bonds of community. The Sarakatsanos expects to be exploited by the merchant and ignored by the government official. The bureaucrat or merchant not only stands outside the local community, he is divided from the villager or shepherd by his status as a member of the urban middle class. The shepherd is aware of the ill-concealed contempt of the 'civilized man' (ὁ πολιτισμένος) for country people and their ways; he knows of the official's meagre and insufficient salary, and something of his competitive struggle to win prestige symbols (houses, clothes, cars, radios) which validate the nuances of family status within this urban middle class. He does not believe in the existence of any ethic of professional bureaucratic service to the community. "They are all "caters" (παράδες), he says in sweeping condemnation. It is thought that few officials will exert themselves over the affairs of a man of lower social status unless he is offered some inducement. And generally it is believed that concessions and facilities are seldom to be won on a broad front for the whole community but only as exceptional dispensations to favoured families. In these circumstances men consider it useless to conduct their business with the State on the grounds of their general rights as citizens.

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in the role of friend or patron, not as President and leader of the village. And in personal affairs a villager or shepherd may often go directly to his patron⁷ in the town. The importance of this is that the community is integrated piecemeal with the wider society along lines of personal obligation and not through membership of a large corporate group capable of attempting an infinitely stronger resistance to the authority of the State.

More generally, patronage links persons of different social status introducing into their social relations a common area of shared values which would otherwise not exist. In the context of the Zagori village it links the shepherds to the more important villagers, enabling the former to come to terms with the villagers' hostile attitude and the latter to mobilize the voting power of the shepherds in their own support. Since different shepherd families support different village personalities, it ensures that the latter continue to hold office and power even in villages where shepherds considerably outnumber villagers on the electoral roll.

Similarly, the patron-client relation between the lawyer and the villager or shepherd relates members of local village and shepherd communities to the professional classes in the small towns and larger provincial centres. It gives political power and prestige to the patron. It brings prestige to the client also but above all it means that he is never entirely helpless in the face of the impersonal indifference of Government action which threatens the precarious balance of his economy. Patronage relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges and place some check on the victimizing of individuals. It achieves this by relating the universal franchise to the personal, social, and political aspirations of individuals competing for power and honour; or to put it more briefly, by relating natural rights to personal prestige.

Finally, the bond of debt and the qualified patronage of the merchant and the town shopkeeper brings the shepherd into a permanent association with some of the leaders of town

⁷ In the case of a villager the 'protector' is very often a kinsman. See Ernestine Friedl, 'The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. lxi, pp. 30-38.

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he did nothing. In due course, the girl was abducted and ¹⁵¹ agreed to marry Christos out of terror at the threats made by ¹⁷⁷ the Kazoukas family against her own people if she did not ¹⁷³ consent.

Self-regard is a subjective and personal sentiment. At the same time the situations which provoke it are socially defined. All those elements of prestige, whether of the individual or the family, affect it and are sanctioned by it. A man's self-regard leads him to conserve his honour, to act honourably, to strive after wealth, to act proudly and arrogantly and so on. Self-regard inhibits any conduct on which an interpretation of weakness may be placed. For instance, the Sarakatsani seldom ¹⁷² accept or give apologies. 'A pardon is not acceptable' (*δὲν μίανεται τὸ παράν*), it is said. Similarly, bargaining between ¹⁷³ a shepherd and a livestock merchant is extremely difficult because the self-regard of the seller will not allow him to accept a price which he thinks other men will laugh at, even though he may admit to himself that in relation to the state of the market and the condition of his stock the merchant's offer is not unreasonable. For this reason a merchant employs a Sarakatsanos* who from his local knowledge advises him how far each man may be pressed in negotiation. It is also his task to assure the shepherd that he has made a good bargain. It is ¹⁷² self-regard, again, that prevents a Sarakatsanos from reaching a settlement out of court when his animals have trespassed on other people's land. He prefers to go to law knowing in advance ¹⁷¹ that he must pay double the costs of a private agreement. Any compromise would be an admission of weakness in a personal confrontation. Defeat in the courts, on the other hand, is ¹⁷¹ merely defeat by the power of the impersonal State apparatus, which in any case, it is agreed, is corrupt and inimical to the interests of the community.

Self-regard is a kind of appetitive tension between what a ¹⁵⁶ man is and what he ought to be. In this context, however, what a man is depends on the evaluation by the community of what a man is alleged to be, or to have done. The need of a man, socially and psychologically, to identify the community's evaluation of himself with his own ideal image is so great that

* Known as a *νηλοῦχος*, a guide.

[p321]

XI

THE VALUES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

1. GOD AND SIN

I do not propose to discuss in any detail the ritual practices¹²¹ of Sarakatsan religious life, nor the peripheral complex²⁷¹ of magic techniques which are sometimes linked to religious⁵⁷⁷ beliefs and sometimes not. My purpose is to indicate the general character of Sarakatsan religious conceptions and to show in what way a form of Christian belief may co-exist with the values of honour and prestige that were examined in the previous chapter.

In certain respects the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the⁷⁹⁴ Greek Orthodox Church, as an institution, is tenuous. They have never been regular churchgoers. Before 1938 their huts were often far from villages and few adult men and women would have been able to escape from the imperative routines of family and flocks to make the long journey over difficult country. And since they have come to live in or near the vil-^[244] lages, the almost open ridicule and contempt of the villagers have discouraged the Sarakatsani from altering this traditional pattern.

When a Sarakatsanos goes to church he normally does so⁷⁹⁶ with the intention of taking Holy Communion, and this he⁷⁹⁴ ought to do, preferably, twice a year. During Easter week almost every man, woman, and child in the community will find a means of attending one of the services, and the majority will discover an opportunity to communicate again later in the year on the feast day of the Assumption of the All Holy Mother of God on 15th August, or at Christmas, or at one of the other more important festivals of the Church.

The Eucharist, in the simple way that they understand it as⁷⁷⁹ the sacrifice of Christ's blood which overcomes the barrier of sin separating man from God, is the central belief of Sarakatsan religious life. Otherwise, when they attend a service they understand nothing of the structure of the liturgy, they do not know that the liturgy is a symbolic representation of the life and sacrifice of Christ. Only the shorter and more frequently

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is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

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Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect

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[494]

this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilise, the Turks call it —

● [648]

away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caiques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

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I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right."

[173]

We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said

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Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that."

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We are Greeks. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze

[582]

flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

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THE reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

585 ancient Greek vases of the geometric period, for
 292 every design was made up of straight lines and
 531 triangles, with here and there an inchoate beginning of those patterns of white crosses on a black ground, and black on white, that cover the vestments of frescoed prelates on the wall of a narthex. All was angular: triangles mounting in pyramids or shooting diagonally in zigzags and sawteeth and staircases with, very seldom, here and there, a small and subtly placed triangle or chevron, among the dominating black and white, of pale ocher, or terra-cotta, or a deadened blue. "Geometric" and "neolithic" were the epithets which began to float to the surface of the mind, bringing with them the excitement of the thought that these clothes and these designs might not have changed for three thousand years or more. One knows that these thoughts must be suppressed until they can be confirmed by research. But such dalliance is always stimulating. It was backed here by the certainty that nothing like these clothes exists in Greece or in the Balkan Peninsula or in Europe.

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 [302] The bride's face, with the blue cross on her forehead under black hair as coarse and lustrous as a stallion's tail and the stiff linen coif with its load of baubles and flowers, was burned a deep bronze. It had the metallic, wide-browed, heavy-lidded beauty, the slightly sad mouth, the clear line of jaw from chin to ear, and, springing from its flattened ruff and its stomacher of coins, the strong columnar neck which I admired so much, a few years ago, among the Mayas of the Honduran and Guatemaltecan jungles. Obsidian, chalcedony, and basalt would have been the stones in which to carve those features and that still and melancholy posture. It is a type of looks which has an arresting distinction, a Gauguin-limbed strength at variance with the slender Tanagra delicacy that seems to have left an indelible stamp on Western ideas of grace and style.

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 [534] HERE WAS NO time for more of these cogitations. The deep reedy blast of a clarinet sounded under the window; then, after a few twiddles, a violin and the twanging of a lute and a tentative fluttering tinkle of hammers over the wires of a zither. "Ah, the instruments," Uncle Petro said, "at last!"
 [533] I asked Petro if the musicians were Sarakatsáns. He looked at me in surprise. "Sarakatsáns? We only play the flute. They are Gypsies." And so they were, very dark ones, lined up outside under a tree in blue suits, wearing pointed black shoes and ties, the only ties for miles, and looking sleek and urban among these other nomads. There was a crunch of hobnails up the stairs as the

/208 cont./

474 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani
675 society and its cultural system.
671

The agents of adjudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the
691 questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the
family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of
the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between
members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining
to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and
represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another.

627 Though the agents of adjudication are multiple they are not always
672 obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who
691 are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only
official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with
is that of arbiters.

648 Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society
671 is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the
principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of
which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between
672 members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties
602 concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).

691 If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tséligato and
671 the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or
two Tséligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint
is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

696 /212 cont./
697 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
698 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
626 Mauss. (27)

(170)
(114)

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--

It is noteworthy that Malinowski, *ibid.*, pp. 39, 41, 42, in his effort to explain the obedience of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
629 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
598 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
(494) set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tsfigato these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
● (648) For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recourse to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani
000 (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

577 /238 cont./
577 elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection
577 that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that
577 requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

577 As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs
577 to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation
577 on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is
577 obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

577 As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has
577 been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indis-
577 pensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation,
577 it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with
577 patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and
577 friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day
577 become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

577 This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn
577 child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts
577 against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the
577 rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced
577 brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to
577 banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might
577 recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological
importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals
/cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology
/cited in English/, London, 1955.

577 the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts
577 it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

/366 cont./

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(339)

company sings in her name and addresses the companions
of the fiancé:

--My new friends, do not hurry

Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples
of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

53
789 bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the
peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of
magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning
of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because
the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

53
198 The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation,
amusement, pleasure. However, though "free," they must conform to the
general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are
tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corres-
ponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it,
and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to
533 give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is
a group of songs which includes:

Table songs sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental
songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and
the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed
themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love.
Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to
be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was
given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies,"
which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

● (48)

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[342] saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, blackened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

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842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt, for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale 152
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their [648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts 522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in [582] relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never [186] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."